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ABSTRACT

This literature and research review was conducted to provide an Aboriginal perspective to the work of the Western Canadian Protocol Social Studies K-12 Project. The Project is a positive step toward rebuilding cooperative relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples, and will also provide the students of western Canada with an understanding and respect for diversity. The first three sections of this paper review: (1) the history of Aboriginal education (traditional education, meaning of special talents and giftedness, analytical theory of Aboriginal philosophy, missionary schools, residential schools, assimilation policies, integration of provincial services to Aboriginal peoples beginning in the 1970s, and increasing local control of education); (2) the current educational status of Aboriginal students (racism and cross-cultural insensitivity, psychological stress and identity conflict, culturally biased standardized testing, and differences in learning styles); and (3) the need for curriculum review and reform (cultural needs and differences, the value of multicultural education, importance of self-esteem and identity, need for teacher knowledge of cultural and ethnic differences, need to stabilize indigenous languages, incorporation of Aboriginal values into the social studies curriculum, and rationale for curriculum reform). A cooperative or mutualistic curriculum development model is recommended that involves provincial governments working closely with Aboriginal parents and communities. Specific recommendations for the social studies curriculum framework cover Aboriginal languages, identity and diversity, Aboriginal history, community, and Aboriginal education. (Contains 50 references.) (SV)

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Aboriginal Perspective on Education:

A Vision of Cultural Context within the Framework of Social Studies: Literature/Research Review

Prepared for the
Western Canadian Protocol
Social Studies K–12 Project

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FOREWORD

This literature/research review was conducted to provide information to guide future work on the Western Canadian Protocol Social Studies K–12 Project. Although direction was given to the researcher/writer to establish parameters for the task, the content of this document reflects the writer's perspectives on topics and subjects reviewed and does not necessarily reflect the positions of the ministries represented on the Western Canadian Protocol Social Studies K–12 Project Team.

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REDEFINING ABORIGINAL EDUCATION

> "I see no reason why mankind should have waited until recent times to produce minds of the caliber of a Plato or an Einstein. Already over two or three hundred thousand years ago, there were probably men of similar capacity, who were of course not applying their intelligence to the solution of the same problems as these more recent thinkers."
>
> Claude Levi-Strauss
> Anthropologist

This opportunity to bring forth the Aboriginal perspective as a contribution to the reframing of social studies is a positive step toward rebuilding cooperative relationships between Aboriginal peoples and non-Aboriginal people. It will also provide an understanding and respect for diversity in Western Canada, as its primary focus is for young Canadians to embrace diversity as a unique, positive learning experience.

In order to strive for the vision of collaboration amongst nations within Canada, an understanding of the historical implications of Canada's development and the manner of treatment of Aboriginal peoples must be reviewed and corrected as a means for positive change. There is a need to bring forth the impact that non-Aboriginal education has had on Aboriginal peoples. Thus, this review will address the past of Aboriginal peoples as an approach to understand the present. It is necessary to present a view for positive change in rebuilding relationships among distinct cultures and to provide students with a window of opportunity to learn about the ways of Aboriginal peoples in a positive light.

For the past 300 years, Aboriginal (Indian) education was characterized by non-Aboriginal people using non-Aboriginal methods to administer the education of Aboriginal peoples. Far too few Aboriginal people have been involved with the education of their youth, either as teachers, administrators or scholars. One of the most consistent criticisms that Aboriginal scholars have made is that Aboriginal educational research is most often designed around non-Aboriginal concerns, and usually articulated as an academic theory (Hampton, 1993, p. 12). In turn, mostly non-Aboriginal teachers and administrators put into practice the academic theories raised by non-Aboriginal scholars.

In reality, the term "Indian education" is a contradictory term. The juxtaposition of the two words "Indian" and "education" has almost always been problematic, in spite of the fact that Aboriginal parents

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and policymakers agree on the importance of education for Indians (Bradley, 1980, cited in Hampton, 1993, 1995).

Part of the problem is that Aboriginal education is inherently a bicultural enterprise or what Ovington (1994) refers to as "both ways of education" (pp. 29–30). This is the attempt to provide Aboriginal peoples with educational programs that seek to satisfy Aboriginal peoples' aspirations for dominant culture access and minority culture maintenance (Harris, 1990, cited in Ovington, 1994).

Aboriginal education must be critiqued if Aboriginal peoples are to move into the twenty-first century on a more level playing field. At present, Aboriginal education has been directed at two competing goals: assimilation and self-determination (Havighurst, 1981, cited in Hampton, 1995, p. 8). The relationship between these goals and the current education system has to be redefined. In general, Aboriginal peoples express the desire to join in partnership with Canadian society, accepting the responsibility of being full participants in contemporary society. The need to use educational tools is problematic in that the success of Aboriginal students has yet to reach national standards. Dickason (1992) cites that from the Canadian 1986 census, only one third of the Aboriginal population will attend post-secondary institutions and only one fourth of Aboriginal students will actually complete their program. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) makes a recommendation that in order to rectify this deficiency, it "will require dialogue with knowledgeable Aboriginal communicators. Knowledge of one another, and a sharing of wisdom, are essential to a true partnership of peoples" (p. 89).

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HISTORICAL REVIEW OF ABORIGINAL EDUCATION

Aboriginal Traditional Education

Prior to the arrival of the Europeans, each First Nation had its own traditional forms of education. "It was an education in which the community and the natural environment were the classroom, and the land was seen as the mother of the people" (Kirkness and Bowman, 1992, p. 5). Traditional Indian education could be characterized by oral histories, ceremonies, teaching stories, learning games, teaching by example and even instruction.

In the Beginning

A long time ago the earth was almost completely covered with water because it rained for many days. The only live creatures were some animals and Wesakechak, the supernatural Indian, born to O' Ma-ma, the earth mother of the Crees. The only land that was visible was a small island on which Wesakechak and the animals took refuge. Wesakechak was forced to build a raft and he and the animals drifted on the ocean for a long time. To his horror, Wesakechak remembered he had forgotten to bring along a piece of the earth with which to create a new world. The only way to obtain a piece of clay was to dive to the bottom of the ocean. Wesakechak sent one animal after another to test the depth of the water. Each animal in turn would bob to the surface gasping for air. None were able to reach the bottom.

In a last attempt, he went Wachusk, the muskrat. Down, down he went. Wachusk was gone for such a long time that everyone thought the little muskrat drowned. Suddenly, Wachusk appeared motionless on the water. The poor little muskrat was dead.

Wesakechak took the body tenderly in his arms and he noticed something that lessened his great sorrow slightly. Clutched in the claws of the muskrat's body was a small piece of clay. He had found earth. Wesakechak took the clay, put it in a pot and boiled it. He boiled the clay over and over again, it expanded over the sides and off the pot falling into the great water, and land was re-formed.

Author Unknown

Leaders, Elders, parents and extended family members were the teachers. Teaching occurred within Aboriginal cultural settings, which provided meaning and direction for young people to become positive, participating and contributing members of their society. Central to this teaching was the belief in the Creator. In the book entitled *The Gospel of the Redman*, Seton and Seton state that "the Redman has the most spiritual civilization the world has ever known" (Seton and Seton, 1963, cited in Kirkness and Bowman, 1992, p. 5). Seton and Seton go on to state:

> The culture of the Redman is fundamentally spiritual; his measure of success is: how much service have I rendered to my people? His mode of life, his thought, his every act are given spiritual significance. This significance was manifested in daily living, in the relationship of one to another, in humility, in sharing, in co-operating, in relationship to nature—the land, the animals, in the recognition of the Unseen and the Eternal, in the way our people thought, felt and perceived their world (Seton and Seton, 1963, cited in Kirkness and Bowman, 1992, p. 6).

MacIvor (1995) stresses that there are basic fundamental standards to education. She maintains the notion that education standards require that attention be given to spirituality, specifically: "The first standard of Indian education is spirituality, at its center is respect for the spiritual relationships that exist between all things" (p. 75).

Ross (1996) expounds the importance and significance of traditional teaching, by stating that "before the residential schools, children were indeed being taught things at almost every instant and in a wide variety of ways—through the stories and the ceremonies, through the naming practices and through the clan system itself" (p. 83). In fact, Ross suggests that traditional learning focuses firstly on learning responsibilities and secondly on how to develop the qualities necessary to carry out those responsibilities.

Ross (1996) submits that the holistic view of Aboriginal peoples, which is evident through their traditional teachings, is significant to the renewal of mankind.

Finally, Kirkness and Bowman (1992) submit that education amongst Aboriginal peoples is highly regarded. They state that teaching and learning are important concepts and an integral part of Aboriginal philosophy and governance. In Indian tradition, "each adult was responsible for ensuring that each child learned how to live a good life" (p. 5).

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The Meaning of Special Talents

Definitions of giftedness in a First Nation context are very different from those defined by educators who function in the institutions of the dominant society (Friesen, 1997). In the dominant society, giftedness is usually associated with a high IQ. Friesen (1997) suggests that the special talents, "gifts" or advanced skills of Aboriginal children go unrecognized in our current school setting (p. 27).

Traditionally, Aboriginal communities had no need for the exercise of giftedness as we understand it (Friesen, 1997, p. 27). In the traditional way of life, Aboriginal peoples gave little merit to distinguishing an individual's value or worth. The concept of giftedness as defined by the dominant society, which connotes superiority in comparison to others, is an alien concept in Aboriginal communities.

First Nation education was and is viewed as holistic in nature (Pepper and Henry, 1991, pp. 145–160). Children learn how something affects the entire person, including a person's philosophy or view of the world. Aboriginal students tend to learn by viewing the whole, and details are learned later. This is in contrast to non-Aboriginal teaching, where details are taught first and the global picture comes last.

For example, Steinhauer (1997), a First Nation social studies teacher, addresses the manner in which her students feel most comfortable in a classroom setting. She stresses that attitudes come in various forms that may include sharing, collaborative student efforts, humour and respect. She contends that students do not want to be seen as superior but rather that they have a preference for group norms, which is an essential part of the community perspective (p. 11).

In First Nation cultures, a great deal of attention is given to spirituality. Elders stress that each individual human being has been designed by the Creator, and each has a specific purpose to fulfill in life (Friesen, Kootenay and Mark, 1990, pp. 30–38).

Aboriginal peoples consider that signs of giftedness in an Aboriginal child are different than those of the non-Aboriginal child. Signs of giftedness in an Aboriginal child may be a child's ability to grasp what things mean in nature; it may be a high respect for Elders; it may be a child who is reserved and listens and does not speak; and it may be a child that speaks the language in the home. The gifted Aboriginal child is a child with a gift from the Creator. Kirkness and Bowman (1992) affirm this perception of giftedness as an individual fulfilling his/her role within the community perspective. They articulate this notion that the young were raised with specific skills, attitudes and knowledge needed to function in everyday life and further that these skills are fundamental to maintaining the physical, spiritual, emotional and mental well-being of a cultural unit in relationship to the environment (p. 7).

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Analytical Theory of Aboriginal Philosophy

In Cardinal's study on cultural genocide (1998), Elder participants suggest that the "Natural Law" of First Nation peoples is the guide of collective governance. To illustrate this notion, Notzke (1987) suggests that sharing, a value of First Nation peoples, began with the cooperative use of land. Other types of governance included the sharing of decisions that affected First Nation societies. Natural Law emphasized other values of equal importance: respect for all living things to include self and others, respect for knowledge and wisdom, and respect for determinism. These values remain unchanged today, despite the onslaught of the European indoctrination of manifest destiny and the implementation of Locke's individualistic governance.

According to Spradley (1979), culture is the knowledge a group of people use to demonstrate common experiences and behaviour. Spradley claims that a researcher can understand culture only when the realization of different perspectives is apparent.

To discuss the cultural framework for First Nation cultures, it is important to establish a visual picture of the value system that extends to a worldview of self and others. The teaching and education of the Aboriginal young is cyclical in fashion. To illustrate this notion, the following model (Figure 1), as described by O'Cheise (1990, cited in Cardinal, 1998), depicts the view and cycle of a person who is born into an Aboriginal culture. This particular case demonstrated, the model of Natural Law, is that of the Cree Nation. There may be some differences among tribal organizations in the design and perspectives of the graph; however, the value systems are universal throughout Aboriginal nations.

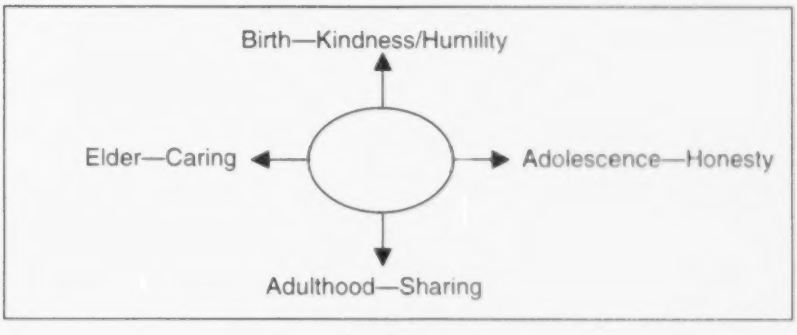

Figure 1 – Natural Law

It is on the premise of value systems that Aboriginal peoples lived a unique lifestyle. This encompassed a journey of self via an ethical aim through praxis for the purpose of a collective need for community (Ricoeur, 1992). The state of development symbolizes that the passing from one stage to another is indicative of renewal and celebration of each phase. In Aboriginal societies, the generation and regeneration of value systems are embedded into the structure of the

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family and the extended family systems. An alternative Aboriginal view, held by European settlers and government officials, advocated that the Aboriginal peoples were incapable of making sound decisions for themselves. So the Department of Indian Affairs, by authority of the Constitution Act of 1867, established power over the lands and First Nation peoples of Canada. This resulted in government orders to halt the religious and cultural practices of First Nation peoples. It also initiated the policy of the Indian Act. The legislation allowed full jurisdiction over First Nation peoples and lands within the boundaries of Canada. Frideres (1988), characterizing his views on the Indian Act, states that "originally designed to protect the Native population and to ensure assimilation, it structured inequality, poverty, and under-achievement among Natives, but it has seriously encroached upon the personal freedom, morale and well-being of Native People."

Missionary Schools

There were numerous attempts to regiment the lives of Aboriginal peoples in the early development of Canada. Specifically, action was taken to make Aboriginal peoples subservient. Whitehead's notion of European settlement underscored a detailed perspective: "Every means should there be taken to bring the nomad tribes to abandon their wandering life and to build homes, cultivate fields and practice the elementary crafts of civilized life" (Whitehead, cited in Haig-Brown, 1993, p. 33). The most significant strategy was based on education and missionary approaches. From the 1600s onward, education and religious indoctrination underwent numerous transitions under the direction of British governance and, later, the Government of Canada.

With the arrival of the Europeans, formal schools were established for Aboriginal children. The early schools, which were run by missionaries, were a major force that acted to destroy the identity and culture of the indigenous people (Jordan, 1988, pp. 190–192).

The missionaries brought literacy to the Aboriginal peoples. However, intent on saving souls, they actively set out to destroy the "heathen" practices of Aboriginal peoples. In the process, the intent of missionaries was to assimilate Aboriginal peoples into the larger society. What appeared to be a helping service was, in actuality, an "attempt to help ... accompanied by an attitude of moral and cultural superiority" (Spring, 1994, p. 42).

Residential Schools

The establishment of residential schools hastened the destruction of Aboriginal culture. The residential school became the vehicle for institutionalized genocide (Cardinal, 1998). Many educators do not like the use of the term "cultural genocide" and rather use the term "assimilation."

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For many students, the residential school is remembered as a painful experience both physically and psychologically. It was the psychological cruelty of removal from the family unit and then immersion into an alien culture that was most destructive. At the residential schools, negative attitudes toward school began. The forced policies implemented by government officials are exemplified by the stories of Isabelle Knockwood, a First Nation woman. Her stories evoke memories of horrendous practices and conditions that prevailed in residential schools.

> ... the biggest crime was running away. They [boys] were brought back in a cop car by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The boys' heads were shaved and they were kept in the dark closet, sometimes for several days and nights. They were strapped and fed only dry bread and water. In one case, the boys were tied to a chair and left there for two days (Knockwood, 1992, cited in Spring, 1994, p. 86).

In January 1998, a news release from Jane Stewart, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, offered an apology to Aboriginal peoples in Canada "that acknowledged the damage done to the native population ... through the government's assimilation policies ... and offering a 250 million dollar fund to address the problems caused by residential schools" (Bourrie, 1998).

It is also important to note that there has been and continues to be litigation against these residential schools for sexual abuse and other abuses.

Assimilation Policies

Non-Aboriginals using non-Aboriginal methods to satisfy non-Aboriginal educators and leaders carried out the historical education of Aboriginal peoples. "This policy of assimilation was fostered by the federal government and the colonial government preceding it. The schools designed to assimilate Aboriginal students were characterized by high failure rates in literacy and educational attainments, poor school/community relationships, negative attitudes toward Aboriginal culture and prohibiting the use of the mother tongue (Hawthorn Report).

Spring (1994) addresses segregated schools as another method of indoctrination to control and impinge upon the education of minorities. He contends that the language and culture of the dominant society were enforced and that the languages of the suppressed societies were never included in the curriculum. "Educators argued that learning English was essential to assimilation and the creation of a unified nation. In addition, language was considered related to values and culture" (p. 85). At length, Kirkness and Bowman (1992) speak about the generational effects that the residential school experience

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has had on the families of Aboriginal peoples.

> Generations of Indian children were denied a normal family childhood. They were denied the association with family, with their extended family's perceptions of spiritualism, of acceptable behaviour and of the means for survival (p. 12).

Kirkness and Bowman also assert that languages were nearly lost from the onslaught of the residential experience and view this as a catastrophic obstruction of culture. Subsequently, they suggest that the residential experience was a purposeful and direct conflict with Aboriginal traditional philosophy as a whole (p. 12).

Provincial Services—Integration

In 1973, Canada's policy with regard to "Indian education" changed from one of assimilation to integration (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, cited in Pauls, 1996). Under this policy, Aboriginal peoples began to take a greater role in the schooling of their children. The move toward more control of education by Aboriginal peoples has increased the involvement of Aboriginal peoples as board members, teachers, administrators and resource people. However, few Aboriginal personnel are involved in Aboriginal education in provincial school structures. Exceptions to this are the provincial school jurisdictions in northern provincial areas, established specifically to deal with the schooling of northern Aboriginal communities. In Alberta, for example, the Northland School Division No. 61 was created. The Government of Alberta went one step further and legislated the Northland School Division Act. This Act allowed for the election of local school boards, including Treaty Indians.

Yukon Territory has made major strides in educational reform, in that consultation is mandated through the new *Education Act*. The *Act* includes involvement of Aboriginal peoples to develop programming of Yukon First Nations language and culture. The *Act* states that "every school administration shall include in the school program activities relevant to the culture, heritage, traditions, and practices of the Yukon First Nation served by that school" (*Education Act*, cited in Kirkness and Bowman, 1992, pp. 58–59). Further, the *Act* also funds Native language centers, administered by the Council for Yukon Indians (*Education Act*, cited in Kirkness and Bowman, 1992, p. 59). Thirdly, "a number of units of study have been developed by the Council for Yukon Indians and by the Curriculum Branch of the Department of Education, and are in use in Yukon schools" (*Education Act*, cited in Kirkness and Bowman, 1992, p. 59). Finally, the *Act* provides a mandate to the Council for Yukon First Nations to provide recommendations on matters of education and language of instruction of its own people.

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In the Northwest Territories, the Department of Education has taken steps to provide an educational system that "recognizes and respects the cultural background of the people it serves. This implies that the department has worked towards making education 'an interactive process involving students, families, and communities ... which draws upon the knowledge of community people and encourages their participation in school programs' " (Kirkness and Bowman, 1992, p. 61). This would include the establishment of a Curriculum Advisory Council that works toward incorporating programs that reflect the traditional knowledge and values of Aboriginal peoples (Kirkness and Bowman, 1992, p. 61).

There are similar school jurisdictions and provincial acts that exist in other provincial jurisdictions, which are in the process of making changes, that include the involvement of Aboriginal peoples. In British Columbia, the Ministry of Education has initiated planning and implementation of Aboriginal perspectives in policy and program planning, through the establishment of Education Advisory Councils.

Likewise, Kirkness and Bowman (1992) state that in Saskatchewan, an established Indian and Metis Education Branch provides services for Kindergarten to Grade 12 curriculum initiatives. In addition, other services designed for Aboriginal educational initiatives are provided to include staff development, school planning, Metis development programs and Aboriginal teacher-training programs.

Kirkness and Bowman also report on the progress that the province of Manitoba has made in providing services to address the needs of Aboriginal peoples. A number of programs have been developed, including Native people of Manitoba posters, language certification programs, and the development of curriculum as well as a number of support programs (p. 86).

Local Control of Education

Since the passage of the Indian Act of 1972, the term "Indian education" has changed to mean education by Indians rather than of Indians (Chavers, 1982, cited in Hampton, 1993, p. 9). This change was directed at First Nation schools and not provincially-operated schools. Inroads have also been made in providing Aboriginal studies and language programs for the First Nation schools to make the curriculum more relevant.

Although some major changes have occurred, Hampton (1993) suggests that this is a transition phase preceding "real" control. This phase is considered a transition phase, because even with so-called Aboriginal control, methods, content and teachers remain predominantly non-Aboriginal (p. 9).

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First Nation education has to evolve into "a thing of its own kind." This means that Aboriginal peoples must structure a self-determined Aboriginal education model. Aboriginal methods and structures, as well as Aboriginal content and teachers will be the cornerstones of Aboriginal education (Hampton, 1993, p. 10).

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CURRENT EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF ABORIGINAL STUDENTS

Racism

Canadians like to believe that they are less racist than people from most other countries in the world. This view has largely been fostered by Canada's policies on multiculturalism and the retention of ethnic identity (Pauls, 1996, p. 24). There is also a belief that if racism in Canada existed, it was historical and has largely diminished in contemporary society. This belief is in sharp contrast with the view put forth by the Canadian Human Rights Commission. During the International Year of the World's Indigenous People in 1993, the Commission stated that the plight of Aboriginal Canadians is by far the most serious human rights problem in Canada (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 1993, cited in Pauls, 1996, p. 24).

Many researchers and Aboriginal people themselves hold the view that there has been systematic and institutionalized racism by the Government of Canada (Pauls, 1996). This is reflected in all areas of Canada's social fabric. Aboriginal peoples face the most serious social disadvantages. High rates of unemployment, disease, suicide, incarceration, substance abuse and low academic achievement exceed the national averages. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) states: "The risk of illness and premature death are significantly higher among Aboriginal people than among other Canadians ... and ... poverty and ill health go hand in hand, and Aboriginal people are among the poorest in Canada" (p. 72).

The most powerful tool of institutionalized racism of Aboriginal peoples has been through the educational process. For example, Hall (1993) addresses the notion of racism and how educators relay faulty information as a guide to assessing Aboriginal students. She maintains that "discrimination may occur from well intentioned teachers" (p. 181). She suggests that educators stand to be better educated on the effects of racism and discrimination.

Although the era of missionaries and residential schools is now past and positive steps have been made to improve the delivery of education to Aboriginal peoples, the overall policies are still those of assimilation and acculturation. A study by Finney and Orr (1995) approached the notion of racism by identifying three interrelated themes. Firstly, there is affirmation that prejudices exist with the attitudes and beliefs of non-Aboriginal teacher education students; secondly, without cross-cultural experiences, attitudes about Aboriginal peoples will not change; and thirdly, a pedagogical approach will contribute to the development of a social perspective on race, class and identity. Their major findings included data that supported the lack of cross-cultural sensitivity as a contributing factor to the high drop-out rate of students of Aboriginal ancestry from Saskatchewan schools (Saskatchewan Education, 1985,1989, cited in

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Finney and Orr, 1995). Their data confirmed that the majority of students " ... lacked specific information, experiences, and general understandings ... of Aboriginal people in Canada" (p. 328). The study confirmed that non-Aboriginal participants rarely socialized with minorities and that school "curricula do not provide equal weight for the histories of non-European nor to critical analyses of issues facing First Nations peoples" (p. 331). Finney and Orr maintain that Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal peoples need to come face-to-face in acknowledging and understanding racism before steps toward healing relationships can begin. Hampton (1993) stresses that positive relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people are developed when there is a transformation of personal, cultural and historical misunderstanding into understanding. This demands that both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people have a place to stand, that both accept the other's right to be and that the fact of misunderstanding is recognized.

Psychological Stress and Identity

Over the past 100 years, Aboriginal students have faced an inordinate amount of psychological stress and identity conflict as a result of the education system. This has been characterized by poor academic achievement, high drop-out rates and in some cases a rejection of Aboriginal beliefs and values. Unless children learn about the forces that shape them; the history of their people; and the values, customs and language of their people, they will never know themselves nor their potential as human beings (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, p. 9).

The present school system is culturally alien to many Aboriginal students. While Aboriginal contributions are not entirely ignored, they are often cast in an unfavourable light (Decore, 1981). A curriculum is not an archaic and inert vehicle for transmitting knowledge, it is a precise instrument that can be and should be shaped to exact specifications for a particular purpose (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, p. 9).

The Aboriginal student coming to school for the first time, quickly learns that his/her values and language are in direct conflict with those of the non-Aboriginal student. Jordan (1988) states that one of the crucial forces that has acted to destroy the identity of Aboriginal peoples has been that of schooling (p. 192). The long-term objectives of education have been to cause Aboriginal children to lose sight of their identities, history and spiritual knowledge.

The findings in a study by Wall and Madak (1991) focused on the identity and self-concept of Aboriginal students. Their study affirms that " ... educational programs for Native students should be designed to capitalize on their strengths, [rather] than to punish them for their weaknesses" (p. 49).

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Standardized Testing

Locust (1988) challenges us to consider the education system that misrepresents the abilities of Aboriginal children who are administered aptitude tests (p. 18). Locust suggests that these tests are designed for children from the dominant society. In Locust's view, the disadvantage of such tests is that they focus on verbal ability from other cultural constructs and, thus, they are administered in a second language and culture alien to First Nation children. She further claims that the First Nation cultures provide the means for mastering nonverbal learning styles. York (1990) suggests that in the Cree culture, children are taught not to maintain eye contact, as a sign of respect, but to listen and reflect (p. 51).

Banks and Banks' (1997) research into multicultural testing and assessment procedures indicates that many ethnic and cultural minorities find school tests alien and intimidating. This is especially true with assessment tools designed for white, middle class students. The consequences of these testing and assessment procedures for minority students are poor performance and being placed in low academic streams, special education classes and low basic skills reading groups. Invariably, teachers in these situations tend to have low expectations of their students and fail in providing a suitable learning environment that will enable students to master the skills.

Banks and Banks (1997) go on to say that standardized intelligence tests often serve to deny minority youth equal educational opportunities. Results of such tests are often used to justify the uneducability of minority students. In this way, teachers will often rationalize their inability to provide a sound educational learning situation for the student.

The education system must begin to take account of the large number of minority students who are underachieving. Something is wrong and it is not necessarily the student. Tests and other evaluation tools must be developed by taking into account the "integrity and value of different cultural traditions" (Banks and Banks, 1997). It is only in this way that the true nature of the learner's ability will be assessed.

Learning Styles

An examination of the literature on Aboriginal learning styles offers a wide array of perspectives as to what is meant by learning styles. One commonly accepted view of a learning style characteristic is the preference of some culturally different students for visual learning as opposed to verbal or kinesthetic learning (Sawyer 1991, cited in Moore, 1987). Dumont (1992) indicates that learning styles are ways that students process information, and teaching styles are ways that the teachers do or do not disseminate this information (cited in Hampton, 1993).

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Moore (1987), who has done research with Aboriginal children, suggests four learning styles—global versus analytic processing; imaginable versus verbal coding; concrete versus abstract thinking; and trial and error versus think, watch and do patterns. He contends that Aboriginal students tend to display the global (holistic); imaginable; concrete; and think, watch and do patterns.

A more recent theory, one that was embraced with enthusiasm, is the right-brain theory of learning by Aboriginal students. Proponents of this theory contend that Aboriginal students are right-brain learners, which is associated with the holistic; concrete; and think, watch and do patterns. Dr. Roger Sperry first discovered in the 1960s that the brain is divided into two hemispheres that have very different ways of operating and that perceive the world in totally different ways. There are several historians of Aboriginal ancestry who hold a view that traditional Indian education was done by precept and example (Ross, 1980, cited in Chrisjohn and Peters, 1986, pp. 2–3). Chrisjohn and Peters (1986) dismiss the right-brain theory of learning by Aboriginal students. They contend that left and right brain functions are present in both Aboriginal children and the general population.

Stairs (1991) uses the Inuit method of learning in a traditional fashion to demonstrate Aboriginal learning styles. For example, she contends that the passing of knowledge "through the observation and imitation embedded in daily family and community activities, and integration into the immediate shared social structure" is the principal goal of all members. She further explains that "backwards chaining" is a method that encourages children to complete adult tasks. According to Stairs, the rationale for this method is that it provides "immediate and important roles within the community. Each lesson provided is parallel to mastery of skills achieved and provided in a variety of different situations." Stairs also states that concepts and principles are not manipulated by adults but rather are left to the children's own levels of experience and perspectives as complete human beings who are in charge of their own development (p. 142).

A second construct of Aboriginal learning styles as described by Stairs is that learning transmits cultural learning. She provides an example of this notion: "Roles of learners and teachers continually shift, and the learning of skills and knowledge from a wide range of teachers is embedded in and subordinate to the learning of multiple kinship and social roles. Knowledge is a shared resource acquired cooperatively" (p. 142). This style of learning is a traditional cycle of learning.

The third construct of learning as identified by Stairs is that of cognitive culture. She describes this style of learning as guiding the individual within the context and protocols of a cultural unit. She further stresses that this learning is based upon life experiences and community consensus.

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Stairs expresses concern that the conflict in learning styles between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people has not been addressed when educational programming has been established for students. She offers two alternative solutions to this conflict by suggesting the possibility of integration of the two learning styles, leading into a new cultural pattern of learning, or maintaining two distinct learning styles.

On the other hand, more and more, educators are placing emphasis on teaching styles rather than learning styles, although both go hand in hand. Some research indicates that the teaching style or method one chooses to transmit learning can have a significant effect on how well students learn. In choosing a teaching method, there are several variables to consider. Saravia-Shore and Garcia (1995, p. 48) indicate that one of the important variables is recognizing the importance of culture and its influence on instruction. Stairs (1991, p. 287) states that the teacher's role should be that of "broker." Often, a lack of understanding can lead to misinterpretation of a child's behaviour and can have a negative impact on learning. Other research indicates that teachers who view cultural differences as strengths and not weaknesses have been able to create the type of atmosphere that motivates successful learning (Stairs, 1991).

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NEED FOR CURRICULUM REVIEW AND REFORM

The most powerful tool in education to influence students is in what students learn throughout their schooling experience. For decades, students were led to believe that the history of Canada began with the discovery of North America and the arrival of the Europeans. Fleeting mention may have been made that Aboriginal peoples were here for a long time. Little or no reference was made to the importance of the contributions of Aboriginal peoples to Canadian history, culture and society.

Research indicates that there has to be a systematic and institutionalized review and reform of provincial curriculum development processes and of the delivery of education for provincial and First Nation schools. It is only in recent years that departments of education have begun to make some changes regarding what is taught about Aboriginal peoples in schools. One of the most significant studies on the portrayal of Aboriginal peoples in provincially authorized learning resources was carried out in Alberta by A. M. Decore (Calahasen, 1989, p. 3). The Decore report (1981), entitled *Native People in the Curriculum*, found that over 60 per cent of authorized learning resources by Alberta Education had serious flaws with the portrayal of Aboriginal peoples.

These included:

- errors of fact—historical
- problems of context—insufficient information
- errors of implication or misinterpretation
- stereotyping
- errors of omission.

As a result of this study, Alberta Education instituted one of the most stringent review processes in the authorization of learning resources. The other five western jurisdictions under the Western Canadian Protocol have adopted similar stringent guidelines.

While significant strides have been made in the authorization process of learning resources, a great deal of work must be done in subjects across the curriculum spectrum. While research supports provincial initiatives in developing Aboriginal studies, and language and culture programs, there is an urgent need to institutionalize Aboriginal content in all areas of the curriculum for all students attending school (Alberta Education, 1985).

Despite the fact that curriculum changes are being made at provincial and territorial levels, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) discloses information that suggests not enough material is being developed, appropriately funded and normally produced by

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Aboriginal authors. It recommends that all jurisdictions need to ensure that the "education provided is fully appropriate for their Aboriginal students" (p. 83).

Cultural Needs and Differences—Diversity

There is an erroneous tendency among non-Aboriginal educators to believe that Aboriginal peoples are of one group and that there is little difference between them and other educationally disadvantaged groups (Grant, 1995). Even more astonishing, there is a belief that the different ethnic cultures are homogeneous and that they have similar cultural and educational needs. In these situations, multicultural education becomes not a matter of simply adding new motivational material to the school curriculum, but of fundamentally re-envisioning the relationship of schooling to the child.

"Ignorance is bliss" says Hampton (1993). We have all heard phrases like "Indians don't take to education any better than they do to farming" or "I read about polar bears when I was a kid, and that is the same as Inuit kids reading about trees". These statements rest on apparent ignorance, because non-Inuit people have read about polar bears in their own language, in schools developed for them; whereas Inuit children read about trees in an alien language, and, therefore, their comprehension is hindered.

As local community institutions, schools should respond to the social and cultural realities of the communities they serve. In order for schools to do this, provincial departments of education have to reexamine the purpose and aims of schooling. The local school cannot persuade policies and practices in opposition to the aims of the school as a national institution (Perry and Fraser, 1993). A good beginning would be for provincial governments to allow schools to be shaped by their communities.

In fact, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) strongly advocates that:

- "all schools, whether or not they serve mainly Aboriginal students, adopt curriculums that reflect Aboriginal cultures and realities;
- governments allocate resources such that Aboriginal language instruction can be given high priority, where numbers warrant; and
- provincial and territorial schools make greater efforts to involve Aboriginal parents in decision making" (p. 84).

Multicultural Education

Banks and Banks (1997) suggest that multicultural education should comprise at least three things:

- an idea or concept
- an educational reform movement
- a process.

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They state that multicultural education incorporates the idea that all students, regardless of their gender, social class, and ethnic or cultural background, should have an equal opportunity to learn in school. They further suggest that through multicultural education, students have a better chance to learn. Multicultural education is a process that not only involves ethnic minorities, but also considers their cultures essential to learning.

Calliou (1995) examines multiculturalism from the traditional perspective. She uses a traditional medicine wheel model as a base for understanding the values significant to community development and the interrelationships necessary for addressing racism, multiculturalism, antiracism and peacekeeping. She advocates that "Canada needs more than multiculturalism" (p. 70) and that educators must consider peacekeeping ideals as a foundation for a multiethnic policy.

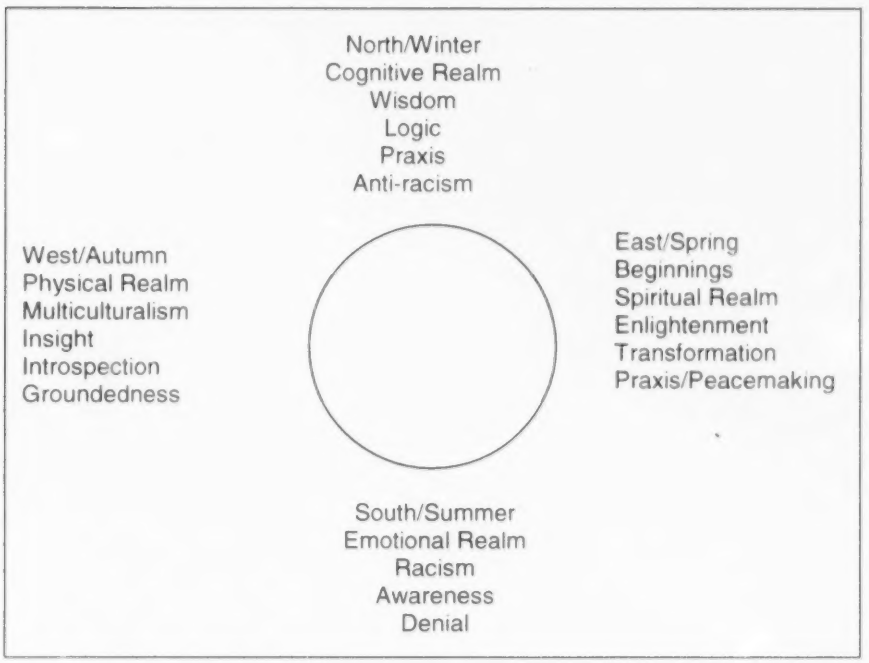

Figure 2. (Calliou, 1995, p. 52)

Calliou explains the four directional outline in Figure 2 as a correlation to a traditional developmental plan for human evolution, beginning with the north representing a newborn or elder, the east representing the child, the south representing the adolescent and the west representing the adult. She states that the connection of the heart, mind, body and spirit is a "holistic, self-constructed process" (p. 53). Likewise, in the development of a child, the tensions and balances equate growth in

keeping with the values and teachings. She explains that the model illustrating the four constructs represents a totality that does not exist with the separate entities.

As in the development of individuals, multiculturalism is placed in the west—the adult phase—which "allows us to see ourselves as citizens of one world although cultural variations occur." Calliou pays special attention to the separateness that encourages differences. She suggests that the teachings for all children foster a multiethnic perspective coupled with honesty as an underlying factor.

Self-esteem and Identity

In keeping with the vision of educating youth through educational institutions, there is a need to provide youth with the necessary experiences, coping skills and opportunities. This would include developing personal skills that focus on responsibility, self-discipline, cooperation, self-control and problem solving. This may be accomplished through a learning environment that stresses realistic and attainable goals, builds self-esteem and provides relevant information regarding contemporary problems.

Research is replete with evidence on the importance of identity and self-esteem in students, if academic achievement is to be realized. Before school-age, children of all cultures are taught that their culture is of primary importance. When minority children enter our school system, a feeling of alienation is evident. They face teachers who do not understand cultural differences and a curriculum that ignores and distorts the diversity of cultures. Hampton (1993) suggests that an educator who sees education as culturally neutral does not address the holistic approach to education.

The contemporary Canadian school is a political, social and cultural institution that carries and transmits the values, knowledge and behaviours of non-Aboriginal society. The ethnic minority is expected to conform. Recently, there has been an increased emphasis on higher standards in education. In reality, this is a call for higher standards for middle class Canadian students. While educators are busy revamping curriculum and designing evaluation tools, the ethnic minorities and Aboriginal peoples are being left further behind. Steinhauer (1997) addresses this notion by stating: " ... it is of the utmost importance that teachers delivering social studies programs to Indian children be aware of the issues related to culture" (p. 250).

The call for higher standards is not accompanied by a more adequate curriculum presentation, nor is any creative thinking being done about social problems, higher standards of equity and respect, or recognition of institutionalized racism (Hampton, 1993). The idea that different cultures may have different standards that are just as worthy seems to be foreign to proponents of higher standards. Steinhauer (1997) adds

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to this notion of culture by asserting that " ... for the Indian student of social studies, everyday living is affected by four principal factors: poverty, language development, values and racism.... They adversely affect outcomes because current social studies programs are designed for a predominately white, urban population" (p. 250).

Identifying Aboriginal Beliefs and Values

In addition to linguistic differences, cultural characteristics vary greatly among Aboriginal peoples. Culturally, Aboriginal peoples differ in their belief systems, social structures, governance, oral histories, ceremonies, dance, music and art. Teachers can no more adopt a single teaching strategy for children from various Aboriginal groups than they can for students from any other ancestral group (Coburn et al., 1995, pp. 227–228).

Aboriginal peoples teach their children that they must learn the two paths of knowledge, that of their culture and that of the dominant society. It is for this reason that it is difficult for Aboriginal students to learn and to sort out simultaneously two different value systems, especially when school curricula and teacher knowledge, behaviour and attitudes are diametrically opposed to those of the students' Aboriginal cultural upbringing (Coburn et al., 1995, p. 227). The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) further discusses values and beliefs as diverse within the population of Aboriginal peoples across Canada. It states that despite the differences in language, belief systems and experiences, Aboriginal peoples are striving "to build bridges across their differences so that they can use their combined voice to their collective benefit" (p. 123).

> The ability to construct an identity for the self, either as an individual or as a collective, lies at the heart of modernity. I now see a group of people who are constructing a positive identity for themselves, who now see themselves as an integral part of, and contributors to, the society around them.
>
> David Newhouse, Trent University (cited in Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996, p. 123)

Presentation of Cultural and Ethnic Differences

Teachers have the obligation to learn about the different children in their classrooms. For example, they must accept that First Nation peoples have special rights as defined by the treaties (Grant, 1995, p. 227). Teachers must be willing to accept and appreciate values and perceptions of the world that differ from their own. Concepts of time, space and of an individual relationship to the universe and to other creatures of the world are to be respected (Banks and Banks, 1997, p. 16).

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There are several important reasons as to why teachers should know specific First Nation characteristics and culture. One reason is that it will enable the teacher to place equal importance on different cultures within the teaching context. A second reason is that it will enable the teacher to predict the behaviour of an individual who is in a new and different cultural setting (Banks and Banks, 1997, p. 14). The more we know about a student, the easier it will be to teach the student.

Sawyer (1991) cited Swisher and Deyhle's recommendations as a guide for teachers who teach Aboriginal students. They are as follows: (1) discuss learning style and why students do what they do in learning situations; (2) be aware of student background knowledge and experiences; (3) be aware of appropriate pacing; (4) be aware of the discourse patterns and discussion style of students; (5) avoid singling students out; (6) use multisensory instruction; (7) provide time for practice before expecting performances; (8) be aware of proximity and other nonverbal preferences; and (9) become part of the community; observe and ask questions so that care and concern is communicated.

Finally, Sawyer (1991) suggests that the theory of learning styles is not conclusive; the recommendations made by Swisher and Deyhle can be used as starting points for teachers of Aboriginal students.

Multicultural education has become the most popular term used by educators to describe education designed for a culturally pluralistic classroom (Grant, 1995). The goals of this approach are to reduce prejudice and discrimination against minority groups and to work toward educational and social equality.

Within a culturally pluralistic school or classroom, the curriculum is organized around concepts basic to each discipline, but content is drawn from the perspectives of the ethnic or cultural group. For example, in teaching literature, a teacher can choose the literature written by members of that group. This not only teaches students that ethnic or cultural minorities produce literature, but it also enables students to experience different forms and styles of literature. In essence literature not only becomes more meaningful to the ethnic student, but it places importance on the student's culture (Grant, 1995).

The multicultural approach advocates giving equal attention to a variety of cultural groups, regardless of whether the group is represented in the school or not.

Calliou (1995) contends that we must go beyond multiculturalism, by combining emotion with the language of critique, maintaining that emotions give balance to reasons, thus demonstrating a shared humanity. She argues that multiculturalism should go beyond

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celebrating cultural identity. Rather, the process should prepare students for cooperative living within the larger context of economic, spiritual, political and environmental stress.

Language and Learning Styles

Language has appropriately been called the vehicle of culture. It is the means by which the attitudes and feelings of the group are made known. Without language, the accumulation of knowledge that makes humans different from other animals could not have been developed or maintained (Fishman, 1996, pp. 190–195).

Languages are socially determined. Their uses, form and content mirror physical setting, historical events, contacts, cultural level, mental climate and cultural history. The language of a group is an index of most of its characteristics. In other words, language will in large measure control the worldview of any particular people (Crawford, 1995, pp. 52–53). The language of one people may not permit the comprehension of the fundamental principles of another people. It is evident that the processes of translation and application often prove unsatisfactory.

The converse picture is also true. Cultural and social structures are affected by the language system. Inadequate command of language impedes cultural development and acquisition. It becomes apparent, in this context, why Elders will insist that children or grandchildren must know their mother tongue well, since this is the very instrument through which their culture will be continued. It must be realized, however, that such demands reflect a pride in and allegiance to the child's cultural heritage, rather than reflecting a pedagogical educational understanding.

Culture is expressed through language. When language is lost, those things that represent a way of life are lost. Elders who talk about language loss tend not to address the symbolism of their language but rather the sacredness of language, the sense of kinship with language and their moral commitment to their Aboriginal language (Fishman, 1996, p. 186).

Research strongly indicates that there is a need to stabilize indigenous languages. Both Aboriginal communities and schools have a role to play in language acquisition and retention. Relying solely on the school for language transmission is not effective, because it focuses mainly on literacy as opposed to the life of the language and its relationship to the culture (Crawford, 1996, p. 30). Elders and parents using the oral tradition are most effective in helping children learn and retain the Aboriginal language. Reviving language needs to include strategies that will involve the community, including the Elders who can make oral language acquisition meaningful.

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Incorporating Aboriginal Values in Social Studies

The provincial policy on Native Education in Alberta, entitled *Native Education in Alberta's Schools* (1985, p. 2), states that "Alberta Education supports the development and delivery of programs and services which will:

- provide enhanced and equal opportunities for Native students to acquire the quality of education traditional in Alberta;
- challenge Native students to learn and perform to the best of their ability;
- provide opportunities for Native students to study and experience their own and other Native cultures and lifestyles ...
- provide opportunities for every student in Alberta's schools to recognize and appreciate our various Native cultures, and their many contributions to our province and society."

Similar policies also exist in the other jurisdictions under the Western Canadian Protocol. Interestingly, the objectives of the provincial Aboriginal education branches are consistent with the preceding discussion on multicultural and multiethnic education.

Also consistent with the research on multiculturalism by Banks and Banks (1997), provincial and territorial governments have recognized the need for Aboriginal language and culture programs. However, using the findings of Banks (1981), departments of education must go one step further and ensure that Aboriginal perspectives are an integral part of all school curricula. Social studies is an excellent subject in which to begin this process.

Rationale

In Western Canada, the fastest growing population is Aboriginal. In Saskatchewan, Aboriginal students constitute approximately 50 per cent of the student population in schools. In Manitoba, it is estimated that by the year 2016, one out of every four persons entering the work force will be of Aboriginal descent. This has important ramifications for education and employment in that province (Manitoba Education, 1998). In the Northwest Territories, Aboriginal peoples are already the majority. Coupled with the high provincial, national and international profile that Aboriginal issues have received, it is not difficult to see the need and the relevance of including Aboriginal perspectives in the new and revised curriculum documents being produced by Manitoba Education and the other provincial and territorial departments in Western Canada.

It is important to reiterate that Aboriginal languages and cultures allow for different worldviews by Aboriginal peoples as compared to non-Aboriginal people. Within the Aboriginal ways of knowing, and in viewing and organizing the world, Aboriginal peoples may have answers that the rest of society cannot see (Manitoba Education, 1998). Areas in which Aboriginal ways of knowing are especially adept, include: Aboriginal histories; spiritual understandings of self in

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relation to the rest of the universe; understanding the importance of conservation and preservation; and understanding the importance of a balance among the psychological, spiritual, physical and emotional natures of man.

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APPROACHES TO CURRICULUM INTEGRATION

Using Banks and Banks' *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (1997, pp. 23–24) and Manitoba Education's *Aboriginal Perspectives for the Social Studies*, 1998, there are several approaches to curriculum reform.

The Contributions Approach
This is the "bead and buckskin" approach. The focus on Aboriginal peoples is marginal through the study of Aboriginal heroes, holidays and art. This approach is not particularly helpful for students to attain a comprehensive view of Aboriginal cultures.

The Additive Approach
Many teachers add Aboriginal content to current provincial social studies curriculum guidelines, tending to ignore Aboriginal perspectives in the curriculum. This approach is limited, because it does not provide students with the opportunity to view society from several different Aboriginal and multiethnic perspectives.

The Transformation Approach
This emphasizes how society emerged from a complex synthesis and interaction of diverse cultural elements. As presented, students learn to view concepts, issues, events and themes from several Aboriginal perspectives and points of view.

The Social Action Approach
This requires teachers and students to make decisions on important Aboriginal social issues and take actions to help solve them. It includes all of the elements of the Transformation Approach and empowers students through the development of thinking and decision-making skills.

The Separate Aboriginal Social Studies Curriculum
Some proponents of Aboriginal education support a separate and distinct curriculum for Aboriginal students. This approach is not particularly useful, because it would deny Aboriginal students the perspectives of a multiethnic worldview.

Implications

To stem the tide of alienation, poverty, unemployment, low academic achievement and other social problems experienced by Aboriginal and other minority peoples, a new direction in the schooling of all children is required. A cooperative or mutualistic approach to curriculum and learning resources development is essential (Calahasen, 1989, pp. 12–13).

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Provincial and Territorial Governments

Elected Members of the Legislative Assembly in provinces and territories set out the provincial curriculum standards. It is incumbent upon them to gain an understanding of the importance of multicultural or multiethnic education curriculum initiatives. The Western Canadian Protocol Social Studies K–12 Common Curriculum Framework could be used to inform members of the Legislative Assemblies.

In the past few years Aboriginal education branches within the departments of education have become a reality and have been working toward a multicultural approach to education. Department of education branches are also making every effort to employ minority educators to provide the new direction in multicultural education.

The Community

It is only a recent phenomenon that Aboriginal parents and other community members have become involved in curriculum decision making. In large measure this can be attributed to the cooperative/mutualistic approach adopted by the respective provincial and territorial Aboriginal education branches in working with Aboriginal parents, students, Elders and leaders. In the past, teacher committees, usually without representation from ethnic minorities, developed curriculum.

If the provinces and territories are to take a new direction in curriculum and resource development, all communities, including Aboriginal and visible minorities, must be involved in providing form and content for the curriculum and preservice and inservice for teachers.

Instructional Materials

One of the options for producing relevant curriculum learning resources is by adopting the mutualistic (cooperative) model first coined by Werner et al. (1977, p. 49). The model has been successfully used by Alberta Education since 1987 on a wide and comprehensive scale (Calahasen, 1989). There has been a variety of learning resources developed for the social studies and Aboriginal language programs for provincial and First Nation schools.

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MUTUALISTIC CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT MODEL
(Werner et al., 1977)

	Minorities as Consumers	Minorities as Advisors	Minorities as Co-Producers
Focus of Power in Decision Making	Curriculum Experts	Curriculum Experts	Shared with Experts and Other Groups
Direction of Control in Decision Making	Uni-directional Hierarchical	Uni-directional Hierarchical	Mutual and Horizontal
Role of Ethics in Decision Making	Consumers	Advisors; Consumers	Co-Producers Broad Base at Grassroots
Major Concern in Decision Making	Efficiency; Maintenance of Power	Legitimization of Decision	Curricula which have Meaning in Localities

Figure 3–Mutualistic Model

The mutualistic model is the most democratic and effective alternative to curriculum development. Decision-making power is shared among experts, including the people that are affected by what is being developed. Teachers, students, curriculum experts, parents, government departments, publishers and agencies become involved in the development of the product.

Training of Teachers

There is little doubt that in some multicultural settings, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers have become more effective during the last two decades. This may be attributed to the Aboriginal teacher-training programs and Aboriginal studies programs at universities and colleges across Canada. However, it has been curricula more often than teachers themselves that have changed (Stairs, 1991, p. 287).

The culture-based approach to Aboriginal education recognizes teachers as the immediate agents of contact and, therefore, of conflict or reconciliation among diverse cultural learning models (Stairs, 1991, p. 287). Teachers bring with them not only knowledge but also the value systems of their communities and upbringing. The teacher has a dual role, first as a cultural broker between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal cultures, and as a technician to explore ways to help students learn (Wyatt, 1979).

Teacher-training programs at universities across Canada still have to go one step further; that is, they need to teach teachers to select and develop learning and teaching models to fit into a cross-cultural or multicultural setting. Teachers must be taught to integrate their

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professional teaching with the daily, informal learning–teaching interactions within the community.

Stairs (1991, p. 291) suggests two features of multicultural education that must be given attention.

1. A movement from cultural inclusion to culturally based in the development of curriculum and teacher training.
2. The incorporation of Aboriginal ways of knowing into the main stream of formal education.

Stairs (1991, p. 292) states that the use of Aboriginal languages increases as the cultural base is expanded.

In keeping with the established guidelines of Natural Law as illustrated earlier, Hampton (1993) establishes a definitive model of education, which provides direction in incorporating an Aboriginal perspective in the development and implementation of social studies. Hampton's standards of Aboriginal education are as follows:

- Spirituality—The central focus to this standard is the respect for spiritual relationships. It defines the individual as the life of the group, thus the freedom and strength of the individual is the strength of the group.
- Service—Education is to serve the people. This standard is a directive that defines individual success as group success.
- Diversity—Multiplicity, diversity, tribalism, and community-based education point to the active implementation of diverse cultures.
- Culture—Aboriginal cultures have ways of thought, learning, teaching and communicating that are distinct and valid.
- Tradition—Traditions define and preserve Aboriginal cultures.
- Respect—Indian education demands relationships of personal respect.

Since the Elders of Aboriginal nations are the keystone to the teachings, one must respectfully acknowledge the direction that they have provided in sustaining a lifestyle and culture. Hampton (1995) reiterates this notion, stating that "walking the circle of Indian education ... must start with who we are, with the traditions, the values, and the ways of life that we absorbed as children of the people.... The identity of Indian people is that which links our history and our future to this day, now" (p. 22).

How Crow Made the World

> After Crow made the world, he saw that sea lion owned the only island in the world. The rest was water—he's the only one with land. The Whole place was ocean! Crow rests on a piece of log—he's tired. He sees sea lion with that little island just for himself.

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He wants some land too, so he stole that sea lion's kid. "Give me back that kid!" said sea lion. "Give me beach, some sand." Says Crow. So sea lion gave him sand. Crow threw that sand around the world. "Be world," he told it. And it became the world. After that, he walks around, flies around all alone. He's tired—he's lonely—he needs people. He took poplar tree bark. You know how it's thick? He carved it and then he breathed into it. "Live!" he said, and he made a person. He made Crow and Wolf too. At first they can't talk with each other—Crow man and woman are shy with each other—look away. Wolf is same way too. "This is no good." He said. So he changed that. He made Crow man sit with Wolf Woman. So Crow must marry Wolf and Wolf must marry Crow. That's how the world began.

These stories are true stories,
How this ground came to be.

Mrs. Angela Sidney
Tagish/Tlingih
Deisheetaan (Crow) Clan

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IMPLICATIONS OF THE LITERATURE/RESEARCH REVIEW FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WESTERN CANADIAN PROTOCOL SOCIAL STUDIES K–12 COMMON CURRICULUM FRAMEWORK

Aboriginal Languages

The Social Studies K–12 Common Curriculum Framework should:

- acknowledge the importance of Aboriginal languages as essential to Aboriginal students' learning patterns
- promote the acquisition and retention of Aboriginal languages
- provide opportunities for Aboriginal students to engage in activities and practices that reflect their oral traditions.

Identity

The Social Studies K–12 Common Curriculum Framework should:

- provide opportunities for all students to engage in reflection and decision-making processes specific to studying diversity
- recognize and ensure that the importance of Aboriginal history is included in the development of social studies.

Aboriginal History

The Social Studies K–12 Common Curriculum Framework should:

- ensure that the teachings of Natural Law of Aboriginal peoples are supported within the social studies framework and shared with all students
- engage students in a variety of learning situations that are holistic and reflective of the Aboriginal perspective and Aboriginal history
- engage students in learning about Aboriginal democratic systems
- include Aboriginal values, beliefs and practices as integral parts of Canadian history
- engage students in learning about diversity.

Community

The Social Studies K–12 Common Curriculum Framework should:

- ensure that learning about Aboriginal peoples promotes positive contributions to the Canadian identity
- engage students in learning about their roles and responsibilities for their personal growth, which is significant to the well-being of their community
- prepare students to learn collaborative and consensus-building skills, which are essential to participating effectively within their own communities, regionally and nationally
- include the values and beliefs of Aboriginal peoples that are essential to the maintenance and development of Aboriginal communities.

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Aboriginal Education

Since the concept of Aboriginal education is relatively new, the following direction and guidelines need to be considered by all educators who are developing programs and curriculum resources.

- The important role that Aboriginal communities/parents have in the academic success of Aboriginal students should be articulated.
- Aboriginal community perceptions should be included as an important part of teacher education.
- Collaboration and decision-making processes with Aboriginal representatives should be encouraged for the betterment of educational programming for Aboriginal students.
- Assessment tools should be reviewed and adjusted to respond to the needs of Aboriginal students.
- Collaboration should occur among provincial, federal and jurisdictional representatives to ensure that educators are satisfactorily prepared to teach Aboriginal students.
- The expertise of Aboriginal educators should be employed in providing direction, guidance and training of educators.
- Opportunity should be provided to use community resources.
- Continued research projects on Aboriginal peoples should be promoted and supported for the purpose of providing authentic data that will assist in the reframing of Aboriginal education.
- Alternative education models that promote satisfactory education standards in accordance with Aboriginal perspectives and beliefs should be considered.
- Resources that assist students with skills that focus on responsibility, self-discipline, cooperation and problem-solving techniques should be incorporated.
- Opportunities should be provided for educators to learn about Aboriginal perspectives and cultures.
- Resources must include those that promote the opportunity for Aboriginal students to experience success using Aboriginal teachings.
- Aboriginal Elders and educators should engage in the development of learning resources.
- Opportunities should be provided for Aboriginal students to interact with the global community of Aboriginal peoples, through various communication systems.
- Local resources should be used for learning and teaching opportunities.

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